121 /43/ Three years ago G. P. Murdock published his "World Ethnographic Sample." It goes without saying that an endeavor of this scope can only be incomplete. Now, as far as the Carajá, one of the nine tribes classified under the heading "Eastern Brazil," are concerned, the set of 30 characteristic features of this society in Murdock's attempt displays significant gaps and serious inaccuracies. It is my intention, here and now, to remedy this state of affairs as well as possible, in order to contribute from my side, while concerning myself with only one case among 565, to a fairer calculation of the human probabilities.

114 [122] [101] [127] To accomplish this task I shall use as a base the data that I was able to collect personally, in the company of my wife and aided by the National Swiss Foundation for Scientific Research, during the rainy season of 1954 to 1955 among the Carajá of the south, as well as, naturally, on the information from our predecessors in the field, Ehrenreich, Krause, Baldus, and Lipkind above all. I am using this opportunity to express the great regret that I feel every time I think of the fact that the rich materials collected by Lipkind have never been published in a satisfactory fashion. The Carajá, although they have been known for a long time, are basically misunderstood. To be fair, it must be added that they themselves do not make the task of investigators easy, and it goes without saying that under these circumstances my own contribution must remain fairly fragmentary in view of the too short period of our stay among them.

121 On the other hand I am convinced that the presentation of facts alone — allegedly pure facts — does not help us to become better acquainted with the human condition, and the second aim of my article is to present to you a first attempt at interpretation of the data concerning the Carajá kinship system, which, not without reason, was left blank in Murdock's attempt.

128 To facilitate the comparison I shall follow the framework of the columns of the "World Ethnographic Sample." The Carajá cultivate primarily tropical tubercles, although maize is not lacking; true domesticated animals are absent.

433 32 462 [231]

/43 cont./

241 433 462 is not lacking; true domesticated animals are absent. Planting is important as a source of subsistence, but fishing and turtle hunting stand higher in masculine preference as well as being a basis of life. Not only are the men charged with fishing and hunting — less important owing to the scarcity of game — but activity in the gardens is also primarily the business of the men, since the women are satisfied to help as they please, which is undeniably rare among the Amazonian Indians.

433 462 Up to here we are in perfect agreement with the categories chosen by Murdock (Ro, Im, Oo, Dm; columns 1-4). However, in column 5 we find the /44/ first gap. The division of labor assigns gathering to the female sex, except for the harvesting of wild honey, which is considered more as hunting and belongs among the men's tasks. So the Carajá could, after all, be put in the category of "standard division of labor by sex" (thus Ia; column 5).

114 Real difficulties arise when we take into consideration what is properly called social organization. Categorial decisions 361 [221] are not so easy to make there. It is true that our Indians live in compact villages, especially during the rainy seasons. During the rest of the year the Carajá proper like to disperse on the beaches, forming smaller local units, which, nevertheless, are always lined up along the river, the houses of the men (if there are any in the encampments) remaining at the rear, as if the periphery of a circle had been opened and rolled back in a straight line, leaving the center — the houses of the men — at 361 the side of the line. Since the large villages of the rainy season, 62 which are all like this and bear a name, are in reality agamous [114] and without clans, but display a certain tendency toward endogamy, the category assigned by Murdock — compact village observing agamy — (Va; column 6), if it is not definitely wrong, is nevertheless to be taken cum grano salis (tendency toward Sd).

59 As for the family structure, it is normally of the extended type, at least during the rainy season, but the extension is not

/8 cont./

131 172 comprida and Cachoeira grande are in any case the work of their ancestors. Since the first Araguaia travelers already mention these "inscriptions" as documents of great age, the Karaya must have lived in these regions at least since the sixteenth century (see pp. 91 ff.).

439 [162] Within the Šambioa region, where the river is no longer navigable for ships, there are no Brazilian settlements at present. The savages are therefore completely dependent on the barter trade with the few larger rowboats passing by four to six times annually or the small vessels which maintain communication with [648] São Vincente. They deliver mainly hammocks, field produce, and chickens to the travelers, but have otherwise kept their full 433 independence. Living under far better conditions of existence than the Karayahi, they stand, as far as agriculture is concerned, on a higher level than even the civilized river-dwellers.

648 They live in most bitter enmity with the Kayapo tribes of the left bank, the Kradahõ /Cradaho/, Ušikriñ, and others. Many [1129] abducted women and children of the latter are found in their villages. On the whole, however, they are well treated, the children even adopted into the tribe without further ado.

The relationship of the Šambioa to the settlers has not always been peaceful. Nevertheless, Castelnau was already able to substantiate that these Indians did not deserve the bad reputation which they had among the Goyans at the time. The main guilt for the misdeeds which occurred is in any case to be sought on the side of the foreigners.

609 Their behavior was decidedly hostile in the seventies when the notorious Chief Roco attacked travelers on several occasions and massacred them.

Today it is only the inhabitants of the second village who receive strangers with hostility. Women and children are taken to [911] safety, the warriors stand threateningly on the shore, armed with bows, spears, and clubs, and hardly condescend to barter. In the other villages our reception left little to be desired, once the fleeing women were successfully persuaded to return.

/14 cont./

Way of Life. Food and Its Preparation

433 Like most South American tribes, the Karaya are first of all fishermen, but, in addition, carry on a not insignificant agriculture.
[221] The principal season for fishing is the dry months from May to October, when the larger fish strive toward the deeper parts of the river, the so-called poços, which are formed in particular above the small rapids and the masses of rock projecting out here and there.

The fish kingdom of the Araguaia, in all of the middle course, already bears throughout the character of the fauna of Amazonas. The giant three-meter long pirarucú/arapaima/ (Sudis gigas) is common everywhere, as is the electric eel (Gymnotus electricus) and the thick-bodied pirarara (Phractocephalus discolor) armored with its strong shield of bone. The poços abound with cannibalistic piranhas; in the shallow places along the bank the no less feared thornback, buried in the sand, lies in wait for its prey.

[262] Prized as the tastiest fish are the blue-grey spotted pintado (Pimelodus sorubim), reaching up to two meters in length, the matrincham /Caracinidae/, the tucunaré (Cichla temensis), the trahira (Macrodon), and various species of the pacu (Myletes). Certain fish, particularly scaleless ones, are not pursued because of superstitious fear, and likewise the fresh-water dolphins,
[225] present everywhere in great numbers. Tortoises and their delicious eggs, however, are hunted all the more zealously.

At high water, when the fish are no longer easy to get in the clay-yellow flood, the many lagoons along the river provide the most productive fishing places. They form large natural traps for the larger species, in which they can easily be isolated.

[439] /15/ Whereas formerly the fish were killed almost exclusively with an arrow, angling is now used more and more, since hooks are imported in large quantities. In many places, however, angling and net fishing cannot be done because of the countless piranhas whose teeth cannot be withstood by any line or net.

/15 cont./

226 Smaller fish are caught in weir baskets (adžuriă), larger ones in stockades or peculiar traps made out of vines (deaurärŏ) which do not know from personal observation.

● 433 Hunting, in contrast to fishing, plays a much lesser role than those who view all Indians as purely hunting peoples without 224 further ado are inclined to believe. Larger, huntable game is 262 quite sparingly represented in tropical South America and, in view of the lack of firearms, difficult to obtain. In addition, superstition often forbids eating the meat of precisely the largest and most common species. Thus, the Karaya scorn the tapir. Their principal booty is the monkeys common in all the forest along the shore, wild pigs, small rodents such as agoutis and pacas, and furthermore the small camprehe. In the lagoons and marshes of the patanaes the musk duck (Anas moschas) present in large numbers provides excellent food for them.

241 Agriculture. The great distance of the plantings from the [262] villages prevented a visit to them. Judging by the wealth of vegetable foods among the Šambioa, their agriculture seems to be on a relatively high level. The "savages" have in this respect outdone their civilized neighbors by far. In general, [177] iron agricultural implements have already supplanted the original ones.

The most important cultivated plant is manioc, of which both the more nourishing poisonous species (M. brava) and the less productive, but immediately edible aipim (M. mansa) are grown. The freshly cleared, dry forest soil of the higher banks is especially suitable for this kind of cultivation.

[273] Next, maize comes into consideration as a grain product, which is used less in substance than for the production of fermented beverages.

Sugar cane flourishes on the lower shore-land. During the dry season one sees the seedlings planted on the sandbanks [249] everywhere for the next season. Special devices for pressing out the juice are not in use.

Of the legumes there is found among the Šambioa small brown beans (Dolichos chinensis), as well as peas (komonara) imported from Pará.

/240 cont./

#301 #337 of Ill. 1 is quite primitive. It consists of a few feather rods, Thevetia pendants, and the rattle of a rattlesnake.

I did not see the belts made entirely of Thevetia fruits mentioned by Ehrenreich (but cf. the Kayapó /untranslated/).

As leg ornamentation Ehrenreich mentions ("Beiträge," p. 24) bindings with strands of rattles and clusters of feathers; the strands are spaced by little horizontal rods, which are covered with down (ibid., Pl. X, Fig. 4). I have never seen such dance ornaments.

Ill. 82.
Ostrich feather belt.

6. Food.

433 [231] The subsistence of the Karajá Indians is based on the cultivation of food plants and fishing. The gathering of wild plants and hunting, on the other hand, are of less importance, and the breeding of domestic animals for food is wholly absent, since animals are kept only to furnish feathers or for entertainment.

272 137 Wild plants for food occur on the campo and in the forest /Plates 51 and 52 appear here/ /241/ only in limited numbers, whereas the plantings on the high banks usually provide good yields.

[Text continues on P. 148]

/244 cont./

527 Regular harvest festivals probably do not take place; the time of the ripening of the food plants, that is to say, the time when they have a great deal to eat, is their chief festival time, however.

B. The Acquisition of Animal Food.

• 433 The acquisition of animal food is as yet limited to the appropriative form; the Indians have not arrived at animal breeding.

231 To be sure, they keep a great many animals in their
825 houses, but do not use them for food, nor do they mate them,
[262] but rather, after loss, they catch young specimens again to tame these anew. This pleasure in animals arises from the belief that animals are related to man, are the same in essence; they believe that animals speak and act like human beings, only in a different form. And so they surround themselves with them, in
[235] order to divert themselves by their behavior. Only birds are kept for practical purposes, namely, as suppliers of feathers; they are repreatedly robbed of their feathers, which are then made into ornaments. Tamed quadrupeds, as well as chickens, usually run around free; birds have their wings clipped or they are tied to a pole on the roof, in the house, or under a special protective
[438] roof (Plate 54, Ill. 1). Apparently there is a trade in birds, for several times I observed wandering Indians who carried little birds with them in small gourds, in order to sell them in other places.
/Plate 53 appears here./

231 /245/ Of such domestic animals, I observed the following:
[136] Of foreign, imported animals there were: chickens [(h)ăn̆(k)ă̋], pigs [(ī)šă(nă̋)], dogs (kjŏl̆ŏză̋), cats [(găh)ănlŏ̋ănă̋]. These
[262] animals are not eaten; the Indians are not even acquainted with the eating of chicken eggs (hăn̆ĭkĕsi̋). Pigs are very rare; I saw only one large domestic pig, which was quite obviously kept only out of curiosity.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 155]

/246 cont./

222 [237] [232] the wax (tăbōlă)[1] is stored in large lumps; it constitutes one of their most important gluing and packing mediums and as such is everywhere offered in quantities by the women to passing boats. The chief gathering period of the honey seems to commence in October.

224 [221] While the gathering of these foods is bound to specific seasons and requires journeys often weeks long, in order to collect large amounts, the daily animal food is obtained in short expeditions from the villages by means of all kinds of traps.

[433] [226] It should be noted that the hunting of birds and land animals is completely overshadowed by fishing. In general, of course, the land is poor in animals as compared to the water. There is only a little big game to be hunted: red deer (bŏlōlắ), roe, tapirs [(h)ōlī], monkeys (1), wild pigs (ĩsắ), and possibly

[237] [242] 1. Howling monkeys are shot only for the bones, which are used for arrow points, lip plugs, and arrows, but not for food.

also /247/ jaguars (ănlōắ); smaller animals are more frequent, but very shy and difficult to hunt (agouti, tsũsṹ; capybara, hūắ, etc.).
223 The choice of birds is likewise not very large. Above all, gallinaceous birds (jacu, bĕdjuắ; mutum, etc.) and pigeons, as well as ducks (hăăkŏlīnĭ, hĕdaulĕ, dcăĭălắ) and divers, come into
242 consideration. I was unable to find out whether they eat ostriches, or how they feel about lizards, crocodiles, and boa constrictors, which Königswald reports are eaten. The small choice of game animals is even more restricted by all kinds of so-called food prohibitions. Thus, this person will not eat this animal, and that person that one. Some animals are generally not eaten, though
224 they could furnish a great deal of meat. Hunting only plays a secondary role in the economy of these Indians.

For wild game they set out individually or in company; wild pigs in particular are always hunted in company. It is
[222] strange that the chief never goes along on the hunt, though he does engage in fishing. Only large animals are hunted; the young ones are allowed to run away.

1 [i.e., bee's wax --Analyst]

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

to color, then inject into the wounds a milky secretion taken from the skin of small frogs or toads. Therefore, when the new feathers grow out, they are of a brilliant yellow or orange color, without any mixture of blue or green, the natural color of the bird. It is said that when this new plumage is plucked, the next growth will still retain the new colors without further treatment. 232

Many of the mammals captured by the Karayá in infancy, become very tame. They are raised successfully, nursed either by a slut, or at the human breast. These tamed animals include various kinds of monkeys, the capibára, a rodent which becomes as large as a six-month old pig, agutís, picárres and tapirs. Of reptiles, the Karayá keep turtles, large lizards and alligators, the last named of which lie in pools of water on the sand bottoms, held captive by a cord around the body. The Karayáhy division has comparatively few domesticated creatures. 231 [184]

Like most of the South American tribes, the Karayá are primarily fishermen, obtaining their flesh food more from the river than from the forest. A few tribes, however, that do not live near streams of any importance, are compelled to rely almost wholly upon the chase for their meat, and to become more expert hunters than fishermen. As elsewhere stated, all the aborigines of South America, except the nomadic tribes, engage in agriculture to some extent, though to a very limited degree, except where they have obtained axes, grubbing-hoes and large knives from the civilized people. 433

The best time to fish along the Araguaya is during the rainless months from May to November, when the water is low, for when it rises, the fish are much more difficult to catch. During low water, the larger fish seek out the deep places in the river, where they may be easily taken. These places, which are well known to the natives, are above the smaller rapids, and also where there are certain rock formations which make deep holes, called *poços* by the Brazilians. The fish of the Araguaya have the same characteristics as those of the Amazon valley in general. The giant pire, 221 226 226 136